FELLOWSHIP

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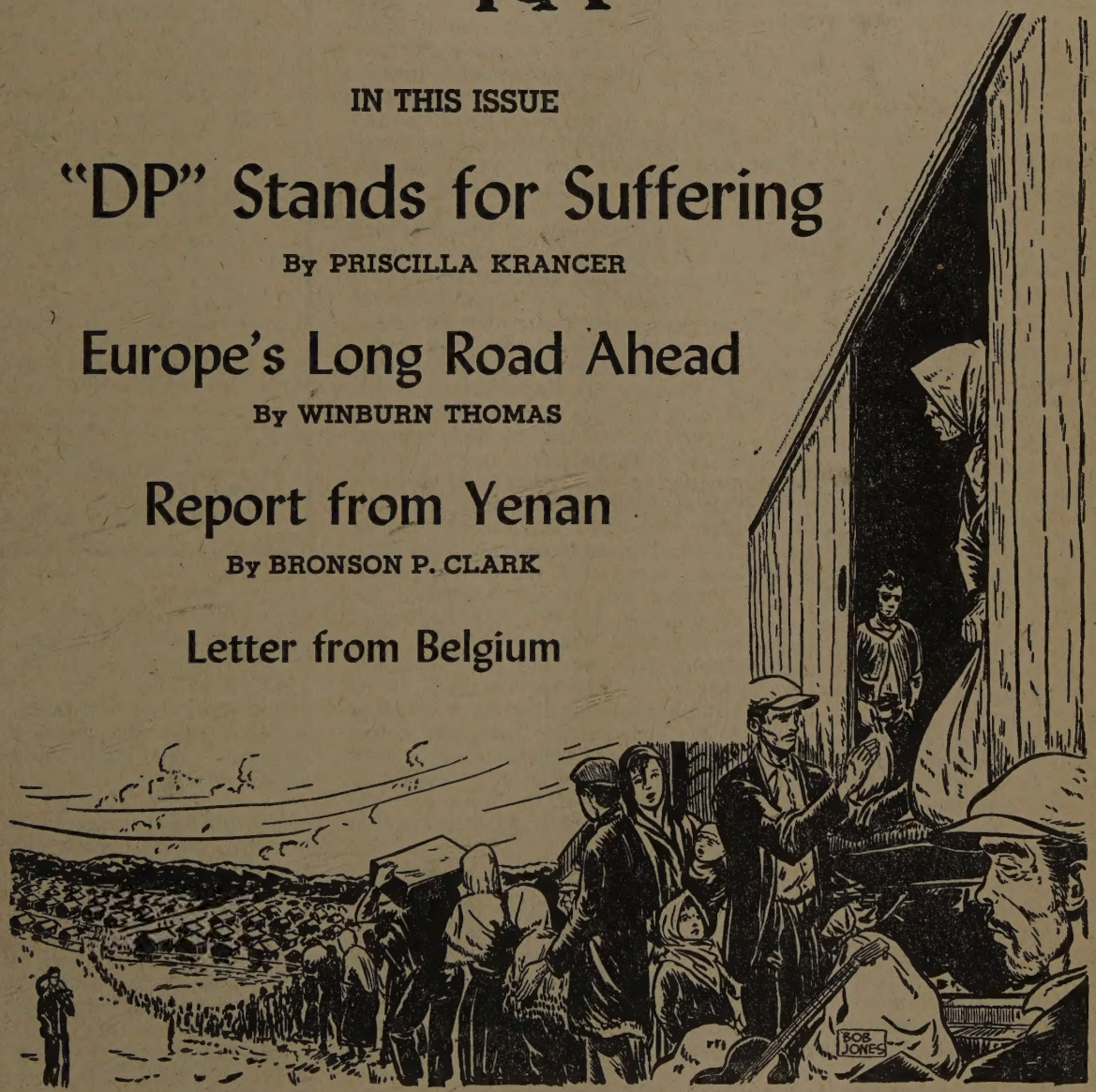

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John Haynes Holmes

IS THERE no such thing as immunity from criticism? Can a man not earn, by any heroism, a title to reverence and honor? Must a public leader always believe what we believe, say what we would say, do what we would do, or else forfeit our esteem? It is appalling, it seems to me, to behold our unholy zeal in tearing down great reputations.

Martin Niemoeller, the German martyr, is a case in point. Here is a man who, like Nathan before David, fronted Hitler to his face. His attitude in a time of confusion and terror may not have been flawless, but in the final crisis Niemoeller stood out against the Fuehrer without compromise or fear. For his steadfastness he was arrested and thrust into a prison-camp years before the war, and there for eight years he languished in utter stress of body and mind, and in daily peril of his life. All he had to do to gain release and return to his family and church was to raise his hand and "heil Hitler." But he did not do it. He remained true to himself and to his cause.

But no sooner was the war over and Niemoeller free, than the hounds were on his trail. Why did he not oppose Hitler when the Fuehrer first appeared? Why did he oppose him on the church issue and not on some larger public issue? Was not Niemoeller secretly an anti-Semite? Was he not at heart a Nazi, as shown by his letter to Admiral Raeder offering to serve the nation again as a submarine commander? These were the charges flung in his face when he came to this country. O, yes, he was in a concentration camp, he was feared and hated by Hitler, he suffered horrid treatment at the hands of the Gestapo. But he was not exactly the kind of martyr he should have been, or we would have been. Which raises instantly the question as to whether we would have been martyrs at all!

Until we have suffered some such ordeal and endured it bravely, what right have we to criticize the conduct and question the integrity of the man who has seen it through? I have pondered the complaints aimed against this German pastor, but set against the sheer fact of his imprisonment and torture by the Nazis, they are trivial. Their presentation is regrettable, and their publication a tragedy.

The "smear" campaign against the saintlike Toyohiko Kagawa is another case in point. In this case, fortunately, we know the sources and motives of slanders charged against the noblest Christian alive in the world today. It is the Communists who are at work here, to discredit a man who is the one most formidable obstacle to Communist infiltration into Japan. Kagawa's enormous influence with his people, his cooperation with the American occupation forces, his complete spirituality which dictates uncompromising opposition to the anti-religious movement of the Soviets, all combine to make him the head and front of the fight against communism in Japan. So the Party and its gang of fellow-travelers undertake, in this country as well as in Japan, to destroy the man they cannot conquer. And there are perfectly good liberals, and even Christians, who fall for this sort of thing!

The indictments of Kagawa are preposterous, and many of them falsehoods. Just because this Japanese citizen supports his Emperor, and agrees with our own ambassador, Joseph Grew, and our commander, General MacArthur, that the Emperor should be kept upon his throne, Kagawa is denounced as an imperialist and traitor. He is sneered at for keeping safely out of prison during the war, whereas he was imprisoned three times and exiled at least once. He is accused of going to the Philippines to commend the Japanese occupation to the conquered Filipinos. But he never went to the Philippines. All this is a lie out of whole cloth! Working amicably with Americans, and thus safe from the charge of anti-Americanism, he is straightway described as a Quisling to his own people. These are a few of the charges. There is not one of them which is not at once blasted by the character of the man and the record of his life. Kagawa is his own best witness.

Thus are the noblest among us subjected to criticism and slander. Albert Schweitzer may be the next in turn because, forsooth, he is a German! Perhaps his remoteness in Africa has alone protected this saint from censure. Gandhi, of course, has already suffered, and may at any time be placed again upon the rack. It is easy to think of lesser men whose virtue has had to meet reproach. Think of how every conspicuous and powerful political leader, a prime minister in England, a president in America, has to run the gauntlet of abuse! It's all a part, I suppose, of free discussion. No one would silence the right of private judgment, but kindness may well dictate charity.

My mind goes back to Niemoeller in the concentration camp, for months in solitary confinement, and always in expectation of death. I think of Kagawa tortured by the spectacle of war which he abhors, by the ruin of his country which he loves, and by the betrayal of mankind to which he has given his life. These men are not perfect. They would not claim to be. They are fallible, even frail, like the rest of us. But they have born witness, even unto the cross. Their meed should be our pity and our praise!

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FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Subheads

Uh-Huh Department

In a speech in the Senate the other day, Senator Arthur Capper, Kansas Republican, described William Randolph Hearst as a defender of the helpless and "perhaps the world's leading pacifist."

Recapitulation

The last thing we want to do is alarm anyone, but it does seem as though reportorial accuracy demands a listing of some of the more recent developments in nuclear fission. For the sake of those who like to pry more deeply, some references are included.

¶ There is an atomic bomb "in view" six hundred times as powerful as that dropped at Nagasaki.[1] Future bombs may "easily" surpass the Nagasaki one by a thousand times.[2] One such bomb might devastate three or four hundred square miles.[3]

¶ Seattle firemen, fighting a blaze at the University of Washington on February 23, 1947, were exposed to radioactivity from the Bikini tests of July, 1946, when they handled some empty barrels in which fish, shellfish and shells had been shipped to the University for study. After the firemen burned their gloves and washed their hands, radioactivity was still present, but a doctor said the exposure was slight and would soon wear off.[4]

¶ Bernard Baruch told Congressmen recently that Russia has "tapped United States atomic bomb secrets." Congressmen were reported as "very disturbed."[5] (Scientists have said repeatedly that "there is no secret.")

¶ Experiments on the effects of radiation on the genes indicate that survivors of atomic-bomb attacks are likely to produce "children with undeveloped arms or legs . . . partially or wholly blind . . . or (exhibiting) dwarfism and innumerable freak formations."[6] In one group of babies born of mothers irradiated during pregnancy, more than 20 per cent were microcephalic, or "pin-head" idiots.[7] However, this sort of thing may be avoided by many fortunate souls, since preliminary medical studies from Hiroshima and Nagasaki also indicate a high ratio of sterility resulting from the bombing.[8]

¶ There is no danger that any atomic bomb will ever blow up the earth, the sea, or the atmosphere.[9] There *is* talk, however, of the possibility of a chain reaction in rocks and earth that "might eat away a continent from coast to coast until the seas quench it."[10]

¶ Radioactive gases released by atomic bombs may be worse than the bombs themselves, since they drift with prevailing winds for thousands of miles. (Radioactive clouds were found over California a week after Bikini.) Huge bombs, released far off the Pacific Coast, could threaten annihilation of the entire population of the United States.[11]

¶ Kix, the breakfast cereal that sponsors The Lone Ranger on the radio, is offering its young listeners for one box top, an Atom Bomb Ring, "designed like a little bomb . . . you'll love its streamlined shape."

It's Me, O Lord!

"This (U. S. responsibility) involves . . . maintaining, for the benefit of those who have yet to learn that there are greater things than force, a strong Army and Navy."

—Lead editorial, *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1947.

Demi-Monde

Our Mr. McTavish, after a long period on the Fifth Avenue veldt, has turned up again with three of what he calls his "significant items." They are: (1) Bloomingdale's is selling men's evening suits in colors (light blue-gray jacket with navy trousers, beige with maroon, or eggshell with dark green) and rayon shoes to match; (2) If you are a woman, Lord and Taylor's says it is *very important* for you to have a long-stemmed look this year; (3) Also if you are a woman, Elizabeth Arden will "seal your beauty with wax" in a wax bath that will help "reduce, firm, and reaffirm a young figure." We're not always sure exactly what is significant about Mr. McTavish's reports, but the way he describes the future, full of long-stemmed, wax-coated women dancing with men in eggshell and dark green, we have an idea he may be right that bad times lie ahead.

1 Philip Wylie, *New York Post*, March 1, 1947.
2 Edward Teller, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February, 1947.
3 *Ibid.*
4 Associated Press, February 24, 1947.
5 *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1947.
6 Amram Scheinfeld, in *Liberty*, Feb. 15, 1947.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*
9 Edward Teller, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February, 1947.
10 Philip Wylie, *New York Post*, March 1, 1947.
11 Edward Teller, *Ibid.*

Coal

March 31 is the date when a new coal crisis may develop. Just for the record, three months have gone by and the government still controls the mines. John L. Lewis, questioned by Senator Capehart on February 28, declared that the United Mine Workers have been on record since December 7 as willing to negotiate a new contract with either the government or the operators, but that "no overtures have been made" in that period.

The government now has operated the mines for almost a year. Profits continue to go to the operators, as always. At what point do the defenders of free enterprise become exercised over this unwarranted government interference with their pet?

Lesser Evil

Mr. Truman and his advisers have now succeeded in impaling themselves and the whole world on the horn of the dilemma that exists only for those who insist that the choice of action must be limited to "the lesser of two evils." Not even the most ardent supporters of the proposal to bolster dictatorial Greek and Turkish governments as "bulwarks" against communism give an appearance of equanimity. Gloom lies heavy along the Potomac, and Senators ask matter-of-factly for an Army estimate on the likelihood of Russia's declaring war, even while they prepare to approve the "be firm" policy. Draft boards have been instructed to keep their records instead of returning them to Washington, and United Nations employees regret for publication the good jobs they left in private employment.

BILL MAULDIN'S CARTOON

"Poppa is only a scientist, Junior. The SMART men decide how to use my inventions."

This was what must happen so long as nations insist on playing the ancient game of power. It is what must happen so long as men will not consider that there is always a third alternative. It is most unlikely that there will be war now: Russia, at whom all this is aimed, simply is not prepared to fight a war now. But it is just as unlikely, if the United States goes through with Mr. Truman's proposals, that we shall long avoid another war. Once the die has been cast—as it will have been—irrevocably for suspicion and power rivalry, it will be next to impossible to retrieve the hope of lasting peace. The fact that an evil may seem to be the lesser of two makes it no less an evil. And you do not pluck figs from thistles.

Out of the Mouths of Babes

Army and Navy bigwigs, reported Doris Fleeson in the *Washington Evening Star* recently, are "supersensitive to signs of returning pacifism," and went on to tell the story of an admiral who, after introducing his young grandson to guests at a cocktail party, discovered the boy sniffing solemnly at some of the uniformed guests present. The admiral, understandably curious, demanded an explanation.

"Oh," said his grandson, "the boys at my school say the Army stinks and the Navy smells, so I wanted to find out."

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Francis Biddle, United States member of the International Military Tribunal, has remarked that the morals of nations will never be improved "without reaffirmation of the responsibility of individuals for national policies." Mr. Biddle's previous post was that of Attorney General, in which position he headed up the prosecution of some thousands of individuals who, reaffirming their own responsibility for national policies which they considered immoral, refused to sanction or participate in the wholesale slaughter resulting from those policies. It all depends on which individuals and which policies you happen to be talking about.

* * *

Senator O'Mahoney (D.-Wyo.) protested against a proposed cut of $1.75 billion in the near-$12 billion budget of the Army and Navy as amounting to "complete unilateral disarmament."

* * *

Dr. Ralph Robey, NAM chief economist, took a leaf out of Marie Antoinette's book in answering a reporter's question as to how the families of workingmen could buy vital foods on an income of $45 a week. Said Dr. Robey, "We (sic) can eat beans till the prices come down." (Dr. Robey declined to reveal his own salary, but said "I get more than you do" to a reporter who revealed *his* salary as $140 a week.)

* * *

The theme of National Donut Week this year was "brotherhood through dunking."

* * *

A colonel under arrest for smuggling $210,000 worth of diamonds out of Japan and into this country told newspapermen that he regarded the gems as "legitimate souvenirs."

* * *

An employee of a Wall Street brokerage house was fired for begging out of jury duty in a gambling case with the statement: "I'm in the gambling business myself and might be prejudiced."

* * *

The Army chaplain who offered the prayer as the plane was about to take off to drop the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima sold the right to include it verbatim in a moving-picture for $400, the money to go to his denomination's relief and reconstruction fund.

* * *

The Tool Owners Union, an organization of wealthy coupon-clippers which has solicited members and contributions via full-page ads in the *New York Times* for its efforts against "communism" and other evils in labor unions, has been barred from operating in New York State as "fascistic."

"DP" Stands for Suffering

By PRISCILLA KRANCER

"FOUR THOUSAND DISPLACED PERSONS will arrive at your camp within three days," we eight UNRRA team members were warned the day we arrived at Füssen. Our job was to set up a camp in the small Bavarian village, and apparently we had only three days in which to do it. We were a Cuban doctor, an American nurse, a Polish mess officer, a Dutch supply officer, an American director and deputy director, and a British welfare officer, to whom I was assistant.

We found ourselves behind the cold stone rectangle formed by eight former German infantry barracks. Windows were broken, doors were gone, and the building had been stripped of bulbs, stoves and radiators by the Germans. The camp contained five hundred stone beds. Two GI guards were playing ball nonchalantly in front of the main gate.

"Those who believe in vengeance and the punishment of a great mass of Germans not concerned in the Nazi conspiracy can now have no misgivings, for all of them —in food, warmth and shelter—have been sunk to the lowest level known in a hundred years of Western history."

—Hoover Mission's Findings on the Food Requirements of Germany; *New York Times*, February 28, 1947

During the next three days we cleaned the barracks without soap and with brooms made from twigs. We had the unwilling and inadequate help of thirty German workers who wandered in at any time and who had to be watched constantly and prodded to their task. In spite of repeated requisitions for Army stocks, we received no food or cookers for days, no furniture or blankets for weeks, and no cleaning materials for months.

Meanwhile the Displaced Persons arrived. We had half of the barracks cleaned, but still no light or food. On a black night with a hidden moon, ten boxcars crawled to a stop at the village station. Cars were crowded to the open doors. We could see shadowy forms: women bending over sleeping babies, boys swinging their legs over the train-sides, piles of shapeless bags and boxes, and behind them more shadows of people packed tightly against one another.

"We mustn't let them stampede," came the nervous voice of the director. "They are hungry, rough characters."

But no one moved. Silence. Not until our warehouse officer, who had suffered five years of German occupation, began quietly unloading bags onto the truck, was there any motion. Then slowly, with sewing machines, bathtubs, rocking chairs, bicycles, guitars, the people followed holding on to each other and to their things, a chain of shadows moving like sleep-walkers in the night.

Morning brought color and substance to the shadows. Thirty, perhaps, stood in the waiting-room of the Welfare Information Office. Like statues, with their backs to each other as if they had nothing in common, nothing to say, they stood there. Sturdy peasant women in kerchiefs and boots held babies wrapped in sheets. Men, old and young alike, looked like scarecrows in clumsy worn overcoats or shirts and pants without elbows and knees. There was no expression on the gray faces as they stared out the window.

Who were they and what could we do for them? They were all Russians, Ukrainians, or "stateless" who had been either bombed from their homes or kidnapped by the Germans from towns and villages. They had been sent to work in factories or on farms, or to concentration camps. The old man with the stubble of beard, one collar button on his filthy shirt under an overcoat that reached to his ankles, and smelling of garlic, with green around his rotting teeth, had been a philosophy professor at Kiev. A small boy, his head barely reaching to my shoulders, was sixteen years old.

They came to us with collections of crumpled pieces of paper, baggage receipts from hotels and stations in Prague or Belgrade where people fleeing before the advancing battle lines had dropped possessions too heavy to carry. Without expectancy they handed over these bits of paper and went away without emotion at our pessimistic words.

Most of them told halting, whispered stories with blank expressions. Pinched, white-faced, starving women came looking for husbands. Mothers asked for sons. Girls sought fathers last seen on the back of a truck at the point of a German gun, or struggling in the hands of soldiers. With the aid of the Red Cross Tracing Bureau, we collected such information and sent it on to the Red Cross Headquarters.

Their utter acceptance of squalid, primitive living conditions gave an inkling of previous deprivation. Ten people, according to regulations, were to live in a room forty by forty, with no soap or sinks or toilets, and dirt piled in the corners. There were no walls for privacy. They hung scraps of burlap and treasured pieces of embroidery over ropes to divide up the space. For a long time old men and children slept on stone floors, without even straw for mattresses. Many lived in cellar rooms as the camp became more crowded. Peasant women sat under the one narrow slit of light sewing all day while babies played in the muddy, cold corridors.

I shall never forget showing a newly arrived engineer's family which room was theirs. The mother, ragged and barefoot, lay propped against her baggage of burlap sacks with her eyes closed. Thinking she might like water I made the motion of drinking with my hand and pointed where to go with the other. The little girl digging near by in the dirt with a stick saw me and opened the precious wine bottle standing at her mother's feet saying, "Are you thirsty? You look very tired. Have some?"

Weeks passed before American canned rations brought powdered milk, vegetables, some meat and cheese into the district. The "DPs" seemed content with potato and meal soup twice a day. One who had worked in a factory said, "Oh, I do not need now to eat. I used to work fourteen hours a day on one slice of dark bread."

If they were not passive they were hard and stubborn.

How many times I would hear a rasping or wheedling voice say, "I demand my rights, special rations, extra rations." Or the words, "Konzentrations Lager. . . . " and a bare forearm would be thrust in my face revealing the tattooed numbers. No shadow of feeling crossed square bony faces with fixed eyes and firm jaws. No speech was left for contact. Only a fist on the table and the words, "Give me!"

But "collapse" and "disillusion" are easy words for the American thought. A gradual awakening in me started my first evening at the theater, the natural center of activity in a Russian camp. More than two thousand jammed the rows of wooden benches crowding the former German armory at one end of the camp. Kerchiefed peasant faces mingled with the weary melancholy of more sensitive features. Little children, a hundred or more, stood beneath the stage, straining their faces upward with the rest.

The performance was a concert of Russian and Ukrainian choral music. Gradually through the nostalgic strains of the Zigevnia music and the stirring defiance of the Cossack chants, I had my first sensation of the tradition of suffering of these people.

I knew that the singers lived on less than two thousand calories a day, with no fats or sugar, yet the music was alive, vital. I looked at the gray faces around me in the audience and saw life drawing into them. There were tears on some; many were at peace. The children, some holding babies, remained for two hours, motionless, listening.

A new understanding framed itself out of the words of the UNRRA interpreter: "Do not be so tragic for these people. Struggle is not so new for us as for you Americans. My father gave up his life to fight for the Czar. I was born in a Caucasus cave during the flight and my son was born in a German concentration camp. . . . We are waiting . . . we must live through this time of many, fighting nations until there is one world. I shall not see it—perhaps not my grandchild, but it will come. . . . "

Who Am I?

Written in a German prison by a young FOR member who later died in confinement.*

Who am I? They often tell me
I stepped from my cell's confinement
Calmly, cheerfully, firmly,
Like a squire from his country-house.
Who am I? They often tell me
I used to speak to my warders
Freely and friendly and clearly,
As though it were mine to command.
Who am I? They also tell me
I bore the days of misfortune
Equally, smilingly, proudly,
Like one accustomed to win.

Am I then really all that which other men tell of?
Or am I only what I myself know of myself?
Restless and longing and sick, like a bird in a cage,
Struggling for breath as though hands were compressing my throat,
Yearning for colors, for flowers, for the voices of birds.
Thirsting for words of kindness, for neighborliness,
Tossing in expectation of great events,
Powerlessly trembling for friends at an infinite distance,
Weary and empty at praying, at thinking, at making,
Faint, and ready to say farewell to it all?
Who am I? This or the other?
Am I one person today and tomorrow another?
Am I both at once? A hypocrite before others,
And before myself a contemptibly woebegone weakling?
Or is something within me still like a beaten army,
Fleeing in disorder from victory already achieved?
Who am I? They mock me, those lonely questions of mine.
Whoever I am, Thou knowest, O God, I am Thine!

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER

* Published originally in "Christianity and Crisis," and reprinted by permission.

Children of the Blockade*

We do not see nor hear them; but they lie
Scattered like winter leaves across the bitter earth.
France bears the light and pitiful burden of their little bones,
The earth of Poland holds them
And the Belgian fields are sown
With white and brittle seed.

We cannot see nor hear them. Take
Your own sweet child in your arms tonight;
Imagine this sweet, living flesh
Corrupt with coming death; these arms
Shrunken to shivering threads of flesh; these eyes
Filmed blind with grey and swollen with disease.
Imagine this dear and lusty shout
Faded to whisper, and the warm moist hands
Withered like ghosts whose weak and spidery fingers crawl
Seeking and seeking in the barren air.

We cannot see nor hear them. But the heart
Can see the great brown sunken eyes. Can hear
The broken, fading cries. Can feel
That terrible silence when the empty cup
Falls from the little dying hand.

JOSEPHINE W. JOHNSON

* Originally published in the January, 1942, issue of FELLOWSHIP, Miss Johnson's poem is reprinted because of its tragic significance for the Europe of 1947.

REPORT FROM YENAN

By BRONSON P. CLARK*

The political opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and not those of the American Friends Service Committee. AFSC concerns itself not with political testimony, but with human suffering regardless of political belief.

DURING MY STAY IN CHINA with the Friends Ambulance Unit, I made two visits into Communist territory. On my second trip, November 1946, I flew from Peking to Yenan and spent a week in the Communist capital. My object was to investigate the medical needs of the Communist people. My negotiations eventually led to the arrival in Yenan of a six-man FAU medical team and 7,500 pounds of valuable drugs and equipment. While in Yenan I visited several government institutions and talked with Communist leaders, including Chairman Mao Tye Tung and Commander-in-Chief General Chu Teh.

My overall impression was quite favorable. The Communist leadership is making great efforts to bring education and good health standards to the common peasant through free medical service. Communist schools, both on the nursery and primary level, appear to be doing an excellent job. The program of economic reform includes land distribution, lowering of taxes, organization of labor cooperatives and stores, and a program of land cultivation by all members of the government.

There is no comparison between the caliber of the Communist leadership and that of the Kuomintang officials. For years the Communists have lived side by side with the masses and are familiar with their problems. I saw no evidences of exploitation for personal aggrandizement. An order that no government worker could heat his cave before November 15 (an effort to conserve coal supplies) applied equally to Chairman Mao's cave and to that of the lowest government official.

Each government department or agency, such as the agricultural experimental farm, the supreme court, the nursery school, the International Peace Hospital, gave one a feeling of efficiency, order, cleanliness—which is noteworthy in Chinese institutions. The Chinese Communists are pushing forward on a powerful wave of social revolution that gains its energies from the inherent power of the Chinese peasants, released by a righting of ancient wrongs. Consequently their movement has a body of idealism now which will probably be lost in the continuing struggle for survival and power. The very fact that they are essentially a rural movement, with their capital located in a small city, avoids some of the impersonal factors of government which exist in large cities.

Be that as it may, the Chinese Communists present a perfect example of a new dynamic order challenging entrenched injustice, corruption, and greed.

Politically, the Chinese Communists look to the Soviet Union as their "spiritual Fatherland" and are avowedly Marxist. (This is in spite of an exactly correct, non-intervention policy on the part of the USSR in China's civil war.) Their present attitude toward the United States is one of suspicion and distrust. They have been bombed and strafed by Nationalist airplanes made available to the Central Government by the United States. They claim that the United States has given Chiang Kai-shek enough material for two or three years of war.

Naturally they are bitter that the United States in effect took away from them vast areas including such cities as Tientsin, Peking and Tsing Tao. These cities became Nationalist strongholds when American planes flew Nationalist troops there from West China immediately after the surrender of Japan. The Communists continually ask, "How can the United States mediate a dispute in which she is one of the participants?" Certainly it is clear that American strengthening of the Kuomintang has made it unnecessary for the Central Government to broaden its base.

Communist leaders in Yenan are aware that the only explanation of American foreign policy in China is "fear of Russia." Undoubtedly our leaders are afraid that communism will sweep all China if we do not intervene. That we wish to have a China "sympathetic" to us, rather than to the Soviet Union, is common knowledge. To support an anti-Russian bias, the United States has backed a government which refuses to right the injustices that grind down the masses of China's peasants, while to counter the dynamic generated by Communist reform, America offers only military solutions. Although our unworkable mediation machinery was wisely withdrawn, it is actually not clear how many of our troops remain in China. The presence of any American military personnel, however few, gives support to reaction in China. The presence of our troops offers an "excuse" for the USSR to intervene in China's civil war. The United States cannot criticize armed intervention by other governments while following such a policy itself.

It may be argued that communism, though offering the peasant some very important economic gains, results finally in political oppression and tyranny, but it must still be obvious that a peasant who has land of his own for the first time and with reasonable taxes, is not concerned with a "two party system." Economically the Chinese Communist program seems entirely sound, but both the Nationalists and the Communists represent political positions foreign to the American concept of democracy. This leaves the "liberal" elements mentioned by General Marshall, but they are so small and so weak as to be completely discounted as effective political factors. What attitude can we then personally take toward China? I believe the following is a minimum:

1. Insist on a strict "hands-off" policy in China's civil war (i.e., refuse to help either side fight the other).
2. Insist that the military be withdrawn "lock, stock and barrel," as White and Jacoby say in their recent book *Thunder Out of China.*
3. Refuse to lend the Nationalist Government any funds from the Import-Export Bank until evidence of a true coalition government exists.
4. Continue and strengthen our aid to the people of China by sending relief through volunteer agencies.

* FOR member; imprisoned as CO during war; recently returned from work in China with the American Friends Service Committee.

This last point is most important. We need to demonstrate to the Chinese people our sympathy with their suffering, their misery, and their great needs. The people of the United States, who are so wealthy when compared with the rest of the world, can do no less than share with their impoverished brethren, whether in Asia or Europe. The Chinese should not be made to feel that we have "washed our hands" of them. Regardless of "high level" political moves, we can individually assist the Chinese through the medium of private agencies.

In all of this we must recognize that the Chinese as well as the Americans suffer from a spiritual ailment too: the disease of violence. Until that is finally eliminated we shall not have peace, nor will China.

Letter from Belgium

AN AMERICAN PACIFIST DROPS IN ON PHILIPPE VERNIER

I ARRIVED IN MONS AT 5:30 A.M. After a cup of coffee I took the tram to Quaregnon. The conductor and I did not have complete understanding, so he let me off two miles beyond my station. As I walked back facing the cold wind, I could feel the depressing atmosphere of this coal mine region. Piles of slag lay all about, the houses were small and dingy, and the ruins from the Allied bombing still left.

Then I reached the Vernier house. The sun suddenly came out. I heard a mother's cheery voice getting the children ready for breakfast. She came down when she heard me, bright and fair, in her early thirties. With her were Nanou, nine, Irene, six, and little Daniel, two, and their grandmother. I was soon established in my room upstairs and given some hot water for shaving.

When I came downstairs Philippe was fixing the fire. He is about thirty-seven, dark, with a bald pate something like a monk's, and his eyes always twinkling. He was dressed in a well-worn pair of tweed pants and a coat of Allan Hunter's. For better or worse, we started talking French together. I know he preferred it, for he introduced me to a friend as an American who did not force him to speak English.

We all sat down to breakfast together. First we sang together, Philippe's voice booming above the rest. He read a selection from the Bible and discussed it with the children. He brought out homely, funny examples, having them draw the implications of the words. Then he said the blessing, simply, in words the children could understand—except for Daniel who was efficiently going ahead with his breakfast.

After breakfast we took the tram to the site of the proposed IVSP (International Voluntary Service for Peace Service Council) work camp next year. A school formerly stood on the site, but it was destroyed by the bombing. It will be rebuilt, but meanwhile the children have drifted off to the Catholic School or to classrooms improvised in the Protestant temple. Between the school ground and the railroad tracks is a large heap of slag. Through Philippe's project volunteers will level it off, fill in some of the ground near by, plant trees, and lay out a playground. He expects the owner of the factory to supply the tools, and perhaps the community will contribute the food. Lodging might be had in the home of the pastor if the group is not too large. The set-up is ideal, except that it is a mighty labor.

Philippe took me into the homes of some of his congregation. One was an engineer who had been given the job of supervising the German war prisoners in the mine where he worked because he got more work out of them than anyone else could. His secret was that he treated them just like everyone else. Most of the miners feel that way about the German prisoners because they share such difficult work with them. Despite the strict regulations against fraternization, they were always slipping them food and other things when they could.

In the evening we attended a Bible class of about thirty young people, old people, men, women, a soldier, Philippe's mother-in-law. The lesson was the second part of the prodigal son, and Philippe had given them a mimeographed sheet of questions to study ahead of time. In the discussion Philippe always carried the ball, but there was general participation for he called on them to read, to cite other passages, and to give examples of the parable today. Even those who did not speak enjoyed themselves. There was one old lady next to Philippe who glowed at his familiar and sparkling illustrations. Sparkling is the right word. And he talked with them just as he had with the children at breakfast, bringing Jesus' word right into their own experience. I'm sure Jesus talked like this. No matter how learned the theologian you will have me hear, I want to know first how he gets on with his grandchildren.

In the evening we looked at photograph albums and scrapbooks. There is a scrapbook of Nanou's, made for her on her third birthday. Pasted in it are some letters her father wrote to her from prison. In 1939, one month before Irene was born, Philippe left for France to make his pacifist testimony. He went to Prison at Nimes and was unable to write to his family. When his brother had his trial in Marseilles he asked the judge where Philippe was and why he had not been tried. The judge became interested. He had Philippe transferred to the less harsh conditions of the Marseilles prison, and the trial was held. He was sentenced to four years. At that time his wife was permitted a brief visit, and he saw the new baby for the first time. When the Germans occupied France, he and his brother were liberated, and the family was reunited. Apparently it is safe for him to go back to France, for nothing has happened during his visits. Nanou's album has two little stories he wrote her from prison, all about animals, and charmingly illustrated with colored drawings. And there are other drawings of grandmother's house, of the house in Quaregnon, and of the landscape near Chambon where they lived.

Before I left Philippe told me how much he enjoys working in Quaregnon, where the people are so genuine and so good-hearted.

IRWIN ABRAMS*

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* IRWIN ABRAMS is a professor at Stanford University. He has been working in Europe for the AFSC.

EUROPE'S LONG ROAD AHEAD

By WINBURN THOMAS*

THE COMMON PEOPLE OF EUROPE are tired. So long have they been fighting, so exhausted are their material resources, that they are frightened by the facility with which Americans discuss the possibility of another war. Europeans know that at the moment the United States alone is in condition to back up its aggressive pronouncements with action. They wonder if it is necessary to divert their available resources from reconstruction projects in order to catch up with America's arms potential.

The people are disillusioned as well as tired. The English are well aware of the commercial gains the United States made at their expense during the war. The Russians have been taught that democracy is an American claim rather than a reality: witness the denial of liberty on racial grounds. The Poles, surrounded by Russia and dominated by Russians, hope for but hardly expect the development of a strong Anglo-American opposition to Russia, or possibly the revival of a "democratic Germany" that will offer effective opposition to Russian domination of the Continent. Only in Czechoslovakia does one find a populace hopeful of the future: while the Czechs recognize their ideological dependence upon American conceptions of democracy, they are sufficiently realistic with respect to their geographical location to have reached an understanding with Russia.

Disillusioned About War

The disillusionment obtains with respect to war. Not only are the masses exhausted from fighting, but they have no illusions with respect to war as an instrument for improving their condition. Save for older FOR members, the sole "pacifists" I met in Europe were former soldiers who said either in fact or effect, "I would refuse to fight in another war, for I know no good could come from it. I am now a pacifist." Pragmatic rather than religious or idealistic, these soldiers of the last war nevertheless were certain they would refuse to fight again. Students of the situation as well as war-hardened veterans recognize the futility of war as a means of resolving present difficulties. While some Poles and Germans hold the hope that American-Russian tensions may precipitate a situation which will unify and free their respective nations, most middle-Europeans recognize that in the event of a Russian-American war their lands would provide the battlefields. They seek to avoid this fate at all costs.

Thinkers among these tired, disillusioned, war-weary people see some sort of hegemony as almost inevitable. Germany for decades has been the key to the Continent; control of the agricultural and industrial potential of this area has been sufficient to dominate the whole. They see Russia on the one hand and America and England on the other striving for control of Germany, although their procedures are far from clear.

Russia appears divided in policy as to whether it is best to strip her German zone of industries and raw materials, and so depress the standard of living that many of her German inhabitants will leave, or to develop the Russian occupation zone as a source of manufactured goods and base of operations whereby in time she may dominate the whole of Germany. The Americans in the early stages of occupation appeared determined to reduce Germany permanently to an agricultural level. It soon became evident that the economic deterioration of Germany was conducive to the development of communism. The present American and British policy of feeding the Germans in their zones is not only humanitarianism, it is also "good" politics, if it is America's ultimate purpose to prevent the Russian hegemony of Europe.

Fear American Withdrawal

France and Britain fear that internal political pressures in the United States may prematurely force American withdrawal, or abandonment of Germany to Russian control. They can point to the American Military Government's attempt to prepare the Germans to govern themselves, which is proceeding much faster than in the British and French occupation zones. While these two "allies" fear American imperialism, they fear our threatened abstention from European politics even more. They regard the recent Republican victories as a return to isolationism and a rightist reaction that will make it difficult if not impossible for Europe to secure the American credits essential to continental economic recovery.

Economics rather than the relative merits of abstract ideologies will determine the victor in this struggle for the control of Europe. At the moment most Europeans fear Russia for her lack of culture, her denial of liberty, and her totalitarian tactics, which bear a strange resemblance to those of the Nazis. The Czechs, a notable exception, are fond of the Russians, largely because the Red Army quickly withdrew after the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Traditionally the Poles have been opposed to the Russians. Garrisons of Red soldiers in cities and villages and the presence of one Russian officer among Polish troops at all traffic examination points are constant reminders to the Poles that they were not allies but victims. Politically, this is attested by the Communist domination of Polish politics, the arrest of opposition leaders, and such incidents as the raid on the Socialist Party headquarters in Warsaw following Byrnes' Stuttgart address, allegedly by Communist party members.

Most Poles appear willing to voice opposition to the Russians in the presence of a foreigner. "We like the Russians—when they are at home," is a type of statement frequently heard. The same is true in Germany where, save among those individuals who are profiting

* WINBURN THOMAS, general secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement and chairman of the executive committee of the Student Christian Council just returned from work in "middle Europe" under the auspices of the International Student Service. He is an FOR member.

from collaborating with the occupation forces, there is strong opposition to all occupation but especially to that of Russia. There is constant migration from the Russian zone to the others despite the relative plentifulness of food in Saxony. We met numerous individuals in the other zones who had "escaped," and we talked with some within the Russian zone who planned to "fly to freedom" but not once did we meet a person who had reversed the process, although we were told of some ideological Communists who had voluntarily migrated to the Russian zone.

At the moment, popular attitudes are opposed to Russian dominance of Europe. The people of each country want to be politically and economically free. The Czechs believe their maximum freedom is through economic ties with Russia; the Poles hope that an Anglo-American development will release Poland from Russian domination. The Germans desire a united, free Germany. America's stock is high in these latter two areas because the people feel that the United States (in cooperation with Great Britain) alone can effectively counter the Russian push westward. Communists constitute but a small percentage of the total populace, yet this factor is subject to change. Communist propaganda is at work, and a deterioration of the economic situation would work to the advantage of the Russians.

These alternatives confront the United States:

(1) To develop a strong, free Germany that would be sufficiently strong to prevent Russian domination of the continent. This plan, while acceptable to the anti-Russians, would find opposition among those who blame Germany for twice before having precipitated a world war, and who fear that she only bides her time to make a third attempt to dominate Europe.

(2) To withdraw from Germany without having guaranteed her security. This procedure would work in Russia's favor since further deterioration of the economic situation would incline the people to any plan which offered an improvement in their condition.

(3) To continue the occupation sufficiently long to "democratize" Germany by educating her against making war, at the same time controlling the economic life of the nation so as to make the country self-sufficient without becoming a war menace. The French estimate that an occupation to achieve these ends might require fifty years, since the re-education process is at best slow. Some officials in the military governments fear that occupation extending over a half-century might make Germany a permanent ward of the victors.

(4) To work for a *modus vivendi* through the United Nations, which would be based upon the implementation of the disarmament proposals before that body. Thus, on the one hand, the economic rehabilitation of Germany and the liquidation of German militarism might be assured; and on the other hand, Germany would be protected against economic and military pressure by other armed states. Merely to state these alternatives is to underline the fact that Europe's fate is inseparable from the total problem of world organization and disarmament. To analyse the problems raised by any one nation is to demonstrate that peace is indivisible, and that tired or prepared, the people of the world will fight again unless the nations make the sacrifices of ambition and sovereignty which are driving them to war in Europe and Asia.

The Titan

WALLACE HAMILTON

"The face of war is the face of death"

—HENRY L. STIMSON
"The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb"
Harpers, February, 1947

THE CAVE WAS DANK. Water dripped from the rock above. It rustled and gurgled at his feet as he walked. He walked slowly; he was an old man. But his step was firm; his mind was grooved with logic. He was pushing on to the green fields.

The cave was only a tunnel. Each step was logical. Each step led to the end of the tunnel, to sweet slopes of grass and warm sunlight.

He walked over twists of flow-rock, through canyons and giant chambers. He passed cascades of stone, gnarled pillars, gnomish shapes that reared out of the darkness. He heard the shrill squeaking of bats in clefts and crevasses.

He walked with only a few other men. Far behind him he could hear the murmur of millions of footfalls. The murmur made him feel curiously solitary. The footfalls followed where he led, but he was apart from them, alone with the few other men, the drip of the water, and the bats, the little gibbering bats.

In a flood of feeling he wanted to turn back, lose himself in the warm anonymity of the millions behind, break the marrow-deep chill of the cave. But he could not turn back. He knew that. He was a responsible man, a man of logic, a statesman.

The tunnel would end. There would be a time and a place where the tunnel would end. The footfalls behind him would stop. He could rest.

But with each step, with each shift of the path, the forms about him grew more fantastic, leaped and crouched around him, whirled and seethed, flung out jagged fingers. He felt the rock-mass above him, beneath him, all around him. There was no escape, only the logic of the next footstep. The forms did not matter. He shut his ears to the noise of the bats. He was walking through a tunnel.

Suddenly a shaft of white light shone on the walls ahead, faint at first, stronger as his step quickened. He and the few other men went forward together, past the shadowed shapes, toward the light.

The canyon opened into a chamber. They stopped.

Ahead of them the cave ended. Ahead of them was the craggy profile of a Titan's face, jagged substance lighted by the blasts and suns within itself, filling the chamber with its own shattering light.

Beyond the crag-face—solid rock!

On the Other Hand

MONTHLY COMMENT BY

A. J. MUSTE

Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War from 1940 to 1945, has an article in the February *Harper's* in which he justifies the use of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Mr. Stimson's argument may be summarized as follows: 1. In August, 1945, the Japanese were not ready for the unconditional surrender which the Allies demanded, though admittedly peace offers had been made. 2. Under the circumstances a land invasion would have been necessary on November 1. Judging from the fanatical Japanese resistance at Iwo Jima and Okinawa, it would have cost many American lives. 3. The awful demonstration of what atomic bombs could do led to immediate surrender and thus saved even more Japanese than American lives. It was thus an act of mercy toward Japan. 4. The proposition to give a demonstration bombing on an uninhabited region first was not feasible, chiefly because the United States had only two bombs at that time. If a demonstration had been given and it proved to be a dud, it would have given an immense boost to Japanese morale and might have prolonged the war, causing numerous casualties on both sides.

Ready for Surrender?

We are asked to take Mr. Stimson's word that the Japanese were not ready for unconditional surrender. A very different slant is given in the *Report of the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey, July 1, 1946.* That report asserts: "Negotiation for Russia to intercede began the forepart of May, 1945, in both Tokyo and Moscow. Konoye, the intended emissary to the Soviets, stated to the Survey that while ostensibly he was to negotiate, *he received direct and secret instructions from the Emperor to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity.*"

On the basis of this evidence, then, the gravest doubt is cast on the validity of Mr. Stimson's first point. He makes it clear that it was known in July, 1945, that Japan "had been seriously weakened by our increasingly violent attacks," and also that "she had gone so far as to make tentative proposals to the Soviet government, hoping to use the Russians as mediators in a negotiated peace." He asserts that these proposals were "vague," yet he knew enough about them to state that they "contemplated the retention by Japan of important conquered areas." Did Mr. Stimson have all the facts? If he did not, did someone else in the U. S. government know that the Japanese were ready for unconditional surrender? Or did the Russians know and conceal the facts?

The bombs were used when, though United States leaders may not have been aware of it, the Japanese were ready for unconditional surrender. What a ghastly miscalculation, if that is what it was!

On the point of the imminence of a land invasion, Mr. Stimson himself makes it clear that the impression of multitudes of Americans that such an invasion was planned for August, 1945, and that, therefore, many American lives were saved even if the use of atomic bombs shortened the war by only a few days, was an erroneous one. No invasion was planned until November 1. Why was that not stated at the time? How could Mr. Stimson and others in the government who shared his viewpoint be sure in August, 1945, that unless atomic bombs were used then thousands of American boys would lose their lives in a land invasion in November? In view of his own admission that the Japanese Navy was "nearly destroyed," the Air Force virtually wiped out and that *"Japan is susceptible to reason in such a crisis . . .* [she is] *not a nation composed wholly of mad fanatics of an entirely different mentality from ours,"* how could he be certain that only a costly land invasion would bring the Japanese to terms?

On this point the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey also sheds crucial light. "Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts . . . it is the Survey's opinion that . . . *in all probability prior to November 1, 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.*" Granted Mr. Stimson's third point that obliteration bombing was also frightful, what we have been saying makes it plain that no clear "military necessity" for continued obliteration bombing existed either.

Similarly, what we have been saying casts grave doubt on whether the atomic bombing saved many Japanese lives.

What about Mr. Stimson's contention that a demonstration bombing on uninhabited territory was not feasible because the U. S. had only two bombs at the time, the Army could not risk staging a demonstration and having it prove a dud, and so on? But would it not have been entirely feasible to stage a demonstration on uninhabited territory in or near Japan, as was done in New Mexico, and then invite Japanese and others in to see the damage? If the bomb had proved a dud, the fact could then have been covered up. Furthermore, *if we had only two bombs, why was it necessary to blast Nagasaki also and that within three days of the Hiroshima atrocity?* Was the military or the scientists' urge for experimentation running wild?

To Stop the Russians

Mr. Stimson virtually admits the charge that stopping the Russian armies was an important factor in the decision. He quotes virtually in its entirety a memo which he submitted to the President on July 2, 1945. At the very end of that memo, after stating his whole case as we have outlined it, he says: "If Russia is a part of the threat"—which Japan must meet if she refuses to heed the warning to surrender unconditionally—*"the Russian attack, if actual, must not have progressed too far."*

I see no escape from the conclusion that the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atrocities were a move in the game of power politics between the United States and the Soviet Union. We may be sure this fact did not escape the attention of the Kremlin. And we may agree with a concluding observation of Mr. Stimson's: "War in the twentieth century has grown steadily more barbarous, more destructive, more debased in all its aspects."

News from the Peace Front

Two Hundred Join Demonstrations Protesting Peacetime Draft

At least 200 persons are known to have burned their draft cards or mailed them to the President as part of the February 12 demonstrations designed to protest the continuance of peacetime conscription.

In New York 200 persons attended a meeting while 63 men destroyed their draft credentials.

In Washington, D. C., nineteen men burned their draft cards while FBI men watched.

Fifteen men in Yellow Springs, Ohio, returned their cards to the President with a letter. This group included eight veterans of both world wars.

In Philadelphia a poster walk, accompanied by a policeman who stopped traffic at all crossings to allow the demonstrators to pass, ended at Independence Hall. Twenty men tore up their cards and mailed the pieces to the President with a letter of explanation. One naval reserve officer resigned his commission in connection with the demonstration. Another demonstrator flew his army uniform from his sign.

Pearl LaForce sent a paid telegram from Hebron, N. D., to the President in support of the demonstrations. The next day she learned it had been refused by the White House because of the text.

It is believed that numerous other men also participated singly and have not reported their actions.

Muriel Lester Itinerary

Muriel Lester, International FOR Secretary, is on a world tour that will bring her to the United States in April for a three-month lecture tour. Her itinerary for April is as follows:

April 1-3, Tacoma and Seattle, Wash.; 4-6, Portland, Ore.; 7, Salem, Ore.; 8, Eugene, Ore.; 9, Corvallis, Ore.; 10, San Jose, Calif.; 12-14, Los Angeles, Calif; 15, Pomona, Calif.; 16, Los Angeles, Calif.; 17, Pasadena, Calif.; 18, San Diego, Calif.; 20, Tuscon, Ariz.; 22, Colorado Springs, Colo.; 23, Denver, Colo.; 24, Boulder, Colo.; 25, Lubbock, Texas; 26, Abilene, Texas; 27, Austin, Texas; 28, Dallas, Texas; 29, Denton, Texas; 30, Kansas City, Mo.

During March the War Victims Fund of the FOR sent $2500 in clothing and medicines to persons in Poland and Germany.

Budget "Reductions" for Army-Navy Non-Existent

The "reduction" in the Army-Navy budget requests in the 1948 budget submitted by President Truman is more apparent than real, according to Hanson W. Baldwin, *New York Times* military analyst. Although the 1948 figure of $11,256,000,000 looks substantially smaller than the current $14,726,000,000, the appearance is deceptive, says Mr. Baldwin.

Writing in his regular column, the *Times* writer points out that several sizable items were shifted from the military budget to other categories. War Department expenditures for supplies to and administration of occupied areas have been shifted to "international affairs and finance," while expenses for atomic research also have been transferred. These two items alone account for nearly a billion dollars of the "reduction."

Another billion results from a "marked and anticipated" reduction in terminal leave costs and war-contract termination expenses, and most of the rest stems from the continued demobilization of wartime forces.

Another interesting tidbit concerning the attitude of the Army and Navy toward the taxpayers' money was made public in the revelation that both services have been buying heavily in June (last month of the fiscal year) in order to be sure of using up their full appropriations. (Unspent amounts must be returned to the Treasury, and such refunds conceivably would influence Congress to reduce succeeding appropriations.)

Examination of Army purchases for June, 1946, revealed numerous large expenditures for unnecessary commodities, including one heavy item for Quonset huts, which had already been declared surplus by both Army and Navy.

Toyohiko Kagawa, well-known Japanese Christian-Pacifist, has announced that he will be a candidate for the Japanese House of Councilors in the April 20 elections. His eligibility for office must be ruled upon by the American occupation authorities.

President Drops Draft; Pushes Military Training

Yielding to the inevitable, President Truman has requested Congress to permit the Selective Service Act to expire March 31. Simultaneously, the Army announced that it will discharge the 100,000 draftees remaining in its ranks by no later than June 30, in order to bring its total strength down to the prescribed 1,070,000 men. The Navy had discharged all draftees months ago.

It has been freely predicted for months that Congress would turn a deaf ear to any requests to renew the Act again, so that the President's "request" constituted little more than an acceptance of a situation.

Renewal of the Act last Spring was by a very slim margin, and succeeded in passing only because War Department spokesmen insisted that volunteer enlistments could not possibly keep the Army up to strength. Since then voluntary recruiting has been on so large a scale that inductions by Selective Service have been almost completely suspended, and the Army has had to discharge almost a half-million draftees short of their stated terms of service in order to make room for new recruits.

Opponents of conscription warned against any complacency as a result of the move. The President and the War Department have made no secret of their intention to press Congress strongly for Universal Military Training for all youths, and it is at this point that the principal danger exists.

Europe Relief Needs Continue Enormous

UN's Special Technical Committee on Relief Needs After Termination of UNRRA has estimated that ex-UNRRA countries will need $580,000,000 to carry them through 1947. The committee also examined the food needs and financial structure of the six liberated countries. They need the following in order to piece out their food supplies: Austria, $143,500,000; Poland, $139,900,000; Italy, $106,900,000; Greece, $84,300,000; Yugoslavia, $68,200,000; Hungary, $40,200,000. Czechoslovakia and Finland were found financially able to take care of their own minimum food requirements. Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine did not submit requests, but there is no doubt that they need outside aid. On the other hand, the estimate did not include the needs of China, where UNRRA expired March 31, but whose needs for the rest of the year are estimated at $294,000,000.

Britain Announces "Quit India" Policy for 1948

With the statement that "the present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged," the British Labor government announced on February 20 that it will quit India for good by June of 1948. Viscount Louis Mountbatten will replace Viscount Richard Wavell as Viceroy during Britain's last year of control.

British Tories and Liberals were "profoundly shocked that India was being irrevocably abandoned without safeguards for her minorities or the ruling princes," said Viscount Cranborne in the House of Lords. He expressed the fear that the present strong Congress Party will seize power to use against the Moslems.

The British announcement declared that "unless all parties sink their differences and form a responsible government, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of central government of British India should be given, whether as a whole to some form of central government for British India or in some areas to existing provincial governments, or in such other ways as may seem more reasonable and in the best interest of the Indian people." The princes will have to settle their own affairs with whatever central government is formed.

Legion Attacks Muste, Armed with Boomerangs

An American Legion post's attack on FOR-secretary A. J. Muste in Jackson, Michigan, proved to be equipped principally with boomerangs, and the net result was a considerably larger volume of favorable publicity and bigger audiences than might otherwise have been expected.

The attack occurred on Friday, February 28, when the Legion post made public a resolution branding Mr. Muste as "communist" and urging that his scheduled talks in nearby schools and churches be cancelled. Two of the engagements, in a high school and a junior college, were cancelled, but other results were:

Twenty ministers, before whom Mr. Muste spoke, issued a counter-resolution replying to a "well-intentioned but, we believe, mistaken patriotic organization," and defending both Mr. Muste and the Fellowship from the charges made. The ministers pointed out that the Legion's information was taken "almost verbatim" from Elizabeth Dilling's *Red Network*, and added: "Both the author and book have been thoroughly discredited, so much so that Mrs. Dilling was indicted by the federal government for subversive writing, with the *Red Network* included in the subversive writings." The story of the ministers' action was published in the local newspaper the following day on the first page.

Also on the first page of the newspaper, the *Citizen-Patriot*, appeared a very complete interview with Mr. Muste replying to the Legion charges and explaining fully the nature, purposes, and beliefs of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A student group from the junior college attended others of Mr. Muste's addresses, and protested both to the college and the Legion the action cancelling his speech there.

In all, the pacifist leader had almost three columns of newspaper space devoted to his visit, a large portion of which was surprisingly favorable.

Jottings

Rev. Joseph A. Rabun, pastor of Herman Talmadge's church, has resigned as an aftermath of his criticisms of Talmadge-sponsored legislation to bar Negroes from voting in the Georgia primaries. Rabun declared he had not entered partisan politics or discussed personalities when he appeared before the Georgia Senate committee to oppose the White Primary Bill as undemocratic. Outspoken in his criticism of racial discrimination, he led a move at the Georgia Baptist Convention last fall which resulted in a resolution denouncing the late Eugene Talmadge's "white supremacy" campaign.

* * *

Dan West will be the speaker and resource leader at the annual Ohio FOR Conference on April 26 in Delaware, Ohio. Reservations should be sent to Dorothy Knoke, 538 Austin Street, Toledo, Ohio.

Medical supplies for Dr. Sodahata, American-trained Japanese child specialist, were collected by FOR members in San Francisco and taken to Japan by missionaries scheduled to stop in Tokyo.

* * *

Costa Rican women and farm leaders are campaigning against a contemplated government purchase of arms from the United States. The Costa Rican branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom consider the importation of arms a needless expense and against UN plans for eventual reductions in arms. Together with the farm leaders, they favor using the money for machinery and farm equipment to relieve acute shortages.

* * *

Refusal of Indianapolis downtown hotels to house Negroes may cause the National Board of the United Council of Church Women to go elsewhere for their national convention. Mrs. James H. Smiley, president of the Indianapolis Council, said that not one hotel in Indianapolis, so far as they could discover, would receive guests regardless of the color of their skins.

WHAT I MEAN IS, a mimeographed journal dedicated to unrestricted opinion exchange, is yours. We print your contributions free, plus our own thoughts and occasional cartoons. One dollar for fifteen months. Free sample. Don Bullock, 417 W. 120 St., New York 27, N. Y.

Ex-CPS man, A.B. in business administration and advanced study in accounting, seeks employment with a Certified Public Accountant. Write c/o Fellowship.

Wanted to complete files for binding FELLOWSHIP: 1937, No. 4; 1941, No. 8; 1942, Nos. 4, 5; 1943, Nos. 1, 2, 12; 1944, No. 12. Joseph W. Reilly, 35 North 34 St., Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Negro college students desire summer employment. Wide range of experience and skills. Write Students' Placement Office, Tougaloo College, Miss.

Employment Opportunities

Man with car needed by Friends School, Buck Lane, Haverford, Pa. Duties are to include recreation activities, transportation, office assistance, and manual training.

Boys' worker, 20 hours per week, needed at Bronx Union YMCA. Write to Ray Stephany, YMCA, 470 E. 161, Bronx, N. Y.

Person to teach German and Spanish needed. Write Arthur W. Calhoun, 232 North Broadway, Sterling, Kansas.

FOR Calendar

Midwest Conference
Date: May 9-11
Place: Des Moines, Iowa
For information write to Emerson S. Schwenk, 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.

Interracial Workshop
Date: July
Place: Washington, D. C.
For information write to George Houser, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

National Conference
Date: August or September
Information: see future issues

The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

Civil Rights in America

The Constitution and Civil Rights, by Milton R. Konvitz. Columbia University Press, 1947. 254 pp. $3.00

The Alien and The Asiatic in American Law, by Milton R. Konvitz. Cornell University Press, 1946. 299 pp. $3.00

In two volumes which testify to his careful study, Professor Konvitz examines the United States Supreme Court's record in dealing with the civil rights, privileges, and immunities of American citizens, and in adjudicating constitutional questions involving aliens and citizens of Asiatic descent.

In *The Constitution and Civil Rights* interest centers on the rights of persons to employment, and to accommodation in hotels, common carriers, and eating places, as distinguished from political rights or the civil liberties specifically enumerated in the Bill of Rights. An analysis of the cases brought to the Court under the 1875 Civil Rights Act reveals that the Court generally held that discrimination in public places violated no constitutional guarantees. Despite the well-intentioned criminal sanctions in the federal civil rights statutes, Konvitz reaches essentially the same conclusions as did Gunnar Myrdal: the Negro in the South has come to look upon law and justice "not as protecting safeguards, but as sources of humiliation and oppression." Konvitz concludes that "the Civil War amendments still lack, after nearly three generations, sufficient teeth with which to free the Negro from the incidents and badges of servitude."

In a valuable concluding section, state civil rights are considered together with the progress that has been made toward outlawing segregation or discrimination. The civil rights acts of sixteen states are summarized and the laws of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey are presented at length together with a model state civil rights bill prepared by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law considers principally the status of Chinese, Japanese and other aliens in the light of Supreme Court decisions affecting exclusion, deportation, naturalization, and restrictions on the right to own land or to engage in a profession. Of particular interest in view of suits pending before the Court is his discussion of the forced removal in 1942 of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast and their confinement in war relocation camps. This official act of grave injustice against a loyal minority cannot be excused on the ground of "war hysteria." Onerous municipal legislation, spawned during the war, is still aimed at Japanese-Americans, denying them licenses to practice various trades and professions.

While the closing days of the 79th Congress saw legislation removing Filipinos and East Indians from the list of those ineligible for admission to this country, the United States is in the anomalous position of supporting a theory of racial superiority for which it has condemned the Axis. Millions of Asiatics can still say with perfect truth, "America bars us from immigration solely because of the color of our skins, and derogates us to a position separate and inferior to that of the other nations of the civilized world."

Mr. Konvitz is hopeful that the not-too-distant future will see a change in the Supreme Court's basic attitude toward the issue of discrimination and segregation. A properly documented case, amply demonstrating the full economic considerations involved in the pernicious constitutional doctrines of "separate but equal facilities" might demolish this last legal refuge of bigotry.

As the publisher's blurb on one of the jacket covers reasonably observes, these are books of great importance, not only to minority groups, but to everyone concerned with civil liberties. In a sense, both books are legal surveys of the "race problem" in this country, not the race problem raised by lynchings or race riots or other explosive incidents which temporarily impinge on an uneasy nation's conscience, but the more corrosive constitutional patterns of discrimination which are clothed in all the majesty of the law and sanctioned by the highest tribunal of the land. The fact that Mr. Konvitz has compiled and dispassionately analyzed the Court's record without indulging in the customary emotional exhortations enhances the value of these two volumes.

FREDERICK E. ROBIN
Assistant Director,
American Civil Liberties Union

All COs who served or are now in CPS camps or prisons may use the loan guarantee fund of the AFSC. Loans for projects deemed sound are arranged at three per cent per year, with a thousand dollars as the maximum generally allowed.

John Haynes Holmes

writes

THE AFFIRMATION OF IMMORTALITY

This book is the *Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man for 1946,* delivered at Harvard College. It is a selection of the Religious Book Club.

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Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Racism and the Church

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In your February issue an article entitled "Racism Sits in the Pews," carries a paragraph about a photograph I took which included a Negro and was published in the North Carolina *Christian Advocate*. Unfortunately Mr. Houser selected only the facts he wished to use. Although one letter of angry protest was received, as he mentions, three letters of praise were also received. The circulation of *The Advocate* has increased.

I agree with Mr. Houser that racial segregation in the Church is evil, but let us not make it worse than it is. Our Methodist Student Movement has been meeting interracially for seven years. In my own community we have three Negro and three white churches, but we are holding a World Day of Prayer service this week in which all six churches are cooperating. The service will be held in the A.M.E. Zion church and there will be no segregation. Last year the service was held in my church.

Did you know that the annual Emory University (Atlanta) and Paine College (Augusta) Conference has been held regularly since 1940? Those attending sleep in the dormitory at Paine, use the same toilet facilities, and eat together regularly.

There are other interracial projects in the South which indicate that the Church, while moving slowly, is at least going forward. With God's help, we will some day reach the goal.

HENRY KOESTLINE
Davidson, N. C.

COs and Veterans at Yale

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As a student at Yale Divinity School and an ex-CPS man, I can say that the article on page nineteen of the February, 1947, issue of FELLOWSHIP concerning the monthly contributions of 110 ex-servicemen at Yale to ten COs is not true. A few servicemen at Yale have expressed concern and so far have raised about sixty dollars, but this is a far cry from five dollars a month from 110 men. We have not publicized the undertaking because the ex-servicemen did not want to seek credit or glory and because the future of the venture is rather uncertain.

WILLIAM R. SCHORMAN
New Haven, Conn.

[*Professor Jerome Davis, who furnished the original information on this story, supplies the following comment.—Ed.*]

I am sorry if any word of mine was misleading. I reported to you just what the students told me. They wanted a five-dollar a month contribution from me and I gave it to them. They had not completed their canvass of the student body but told me the average donation was five dollars a month. I telephoned to one who told me that fifteen or twenty students are contributing this amount. They should be congratulated. The mere fact that all the servicemen are not giving means nothing. The significant thing is that some are contributing. What a wonderful thing it would be if every seminary in America followed their example, even if only one student in each seminary contributed!

JEROME DAVIS
New Haven, Conn.

Science and Faith

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have always felt that science must accept its social responsibilities less impersonally, but where is one to draw the logical line of demarcation between what might and what might not be misused? While I believe that our sociological evolution has lagged far behind advances in technology, Christian ethics should not be considered in terms of evolution. Morals have been somewhat anesthetized by superimposed loyalties to nationalistic traditions, but the twentieth-century murderer using "improved" weapons is as acutely aware of the consequences of his acts as were his predecessors 2,000 years ago.

Should science, therefore, drop all investigation from lack of faith in man's ability to make "legitimate" use of scientific progress? Individual scientists are drawing lines of resistance against misuse of their efforts, but it is too late to protest against the atomic bomb. Any Army technician with a few years of training in physics can supervise the making of an atomic bomb. The Army knows the complete process and no longer needs the help of physicists.

Billions of dollars are being spent on physical, chemical, and biological weapons. Even our diplomatic relations are largely in the hands of the military. Many of our churches are supporting nationalism. If the churches were willing to suffer a little for the sake of peace and were to voice opposition to standing armies and military diplomacy instead of blessing millions of young warriors and extolling the noble aims for which they are about to die, wars might become less frequent.

The Hebrew-Christian tradition is not known for having prevented wars. One could almost argue to the contrary. Scientists can hardly be expected to accomplish something which the agents of Christ have failed to bring about. Even if scientists, to the last man, went on strike today, enough lethal machinery to doom civilization can be built and operated by mere technicians.

Instead of hoping for success from very unlikely group actions, we should continue to resist war as individuals, and to encourage similar resistance in others. The world today has too few heroes and too many mass petitions. Individual action usually bears the mark of sincerity more indelibly than organized sentiment. Individuals must build patiently the foundations of ardent faith in man's basic soundness, even beyond the cataclysmic horrors of tomorrow's wars. Peace cannot flourish in the 1947 pantheon of conflicting decisions. We need a new religion, worthy of the name, with Man at its core.

THEODORE HAUSCHKA
Research Institute
Lankenau Hospital
Philadelphia, Pa.

Draft Protest Protest

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have just now mailed my letter to President Truman, enclosing my draft card and giving my reasons for returning it. I have done this in company with several hundred others in accordance with a prearranged plan for Lincoln's Birthday.

And yet I have some grave misgivings about the effect this action will have upon the mass of the people who are wavering between rejection and acceptance of military preparation. Further, does it not indicate a trend in the FOR away from creative peace-making into the devious and dramatic tactics of intransigent and negative political protest?

Not that I doubt the place of social protest or the publicity value of staged incidents, but I wonder if the originators and promoters of the "Return Your Draft Card" movement might not have chosen methods better designed to get wide support and sympathy for its real aim: to defeat peacetime military conscription. Why could not the bulk of time and expense that went into the campaign been concentrated in establishing the widest possible base for protest, to the end that more letters enclosing draft cards be sent to Washington? Instead we held a series of small meetings of rebels, designed to confirm what we already believed.

Yours for a seminar on "How to Win Peace and Influence People."

JAMES S. BEST
New York City

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James F. Walker, Principal, Westtown, Pa.

THEY WENT LIKE "HOT-CAKES"!

A few months ago we published *I'm An Ill-Adjusted Veteran*—a 12-page pamphlet presenting the pacifist point of view to veterans of World War II, written by newspaperman-veteran-FOR member Edgar L. Jones. A few weeks ago the FOR member-librarian of a midwest university ordered 100 copies for free distribution among the GI students there. A week later he sent this letter:

> *"I have often heard of items selling like 'hot-cakes,' and now I know the meaning of that expression! Your excellent pamphlet,* The Ill-Adjusted Veteran *by Edgar Jones, has done just that within a two-day period here at our library. You recall that I asked for one hundred free copies of the pamphlet . . . well, the first afternoon over half of the copies had disappeared from the table in our lobby! I was frankly amazed, and dazed, but completely happy at the thought of what could happen if every college and university would distribute this piece of literature generously.*
>
> *"If it is not asking too much, could we have another bundle of the pamphlets to make available to our peace-hungry veterans? We can assure distribution within twenty-four hours of delivery!!"*

HERE'S WHAT WE WANT TO DO:

We want to distribute *Ill-Adjusted Veteran* widely in other colleges and universities. Unfortunately, it will cost more money—a lot more—than we have available. So we're making this proposition: *If you will buy as many copies as you can afford, we'll see that they are distributed to veteran-students.* On the guess that we'll have enough response to justify a really big printing, we'll reduce the price to the below-the-present-cost figure of 20 copies for $1.00. (Single copies continue at 10c each.) Will you do it?

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